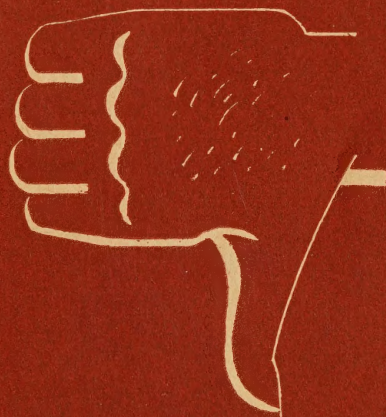
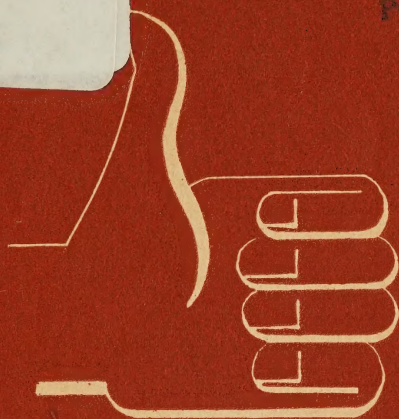


LOOKING AHEAD

CANADIAN POST-WAR AFFAIRS: DISCUSSION MANUAL No. 5

GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE



CAI
WI
-LSI

Government
Publications

CAI
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-LSI

"Government by the People" is the final topic for discussion in the series LOOKING AHEAD. Four manuals have preceded it:

"Home, As We'll Find It"

"The Job We've Done"

"Our Next Job"

"Canadian Hurdles".

Suggestions about how to use the material they contain, appeared in the first discussion manual, "Home As We'll Find It". The suggestions may be worth re-reading before proceeding with this group of talks.



LOOKING AHEAD, a series of pamphlets dealing with Canadian post-war affairs, was prepared by the Wartime Information Board at the request of the Directors of Education of the three Services. The material is meant for *discussion* by servicemen and servicewomen headed for home. These pamphlets, like the regular *Canadian Affairs* which they supplement, have been compiled by members of the Armed Forces.

August 1945

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INTRODUCTION

The Point We Have Reached

This pamphlet is one of a series. In the discussions which have gone before we have talked about the new and the old in civilian life. We have looked at the achievements of this war both in civilian and service terms. Through two discussion pamphlets we have faced up to the chief hurdles that lie ahead.

This one is the climax. If it ends only in discussion, the gains not only of this series of pamphlets, but even of the war, can be lost. Part of the military job is done. But the civilian job never stops. It can have more variety and activity and satisfaction than the job of war. It has its chores too. It has its responsibilities. It has its headaches.

In this final series we are concerned with learning the tactics of peace—the methods by which we get done what we want done. To do this, we shall consider the democratic machinery of government that we have; the way we can share in making it work and some of the forces which influence our opinions.

Making the Discussions Practical

The business of government is a practical matter. It requires imagination, initiative, resourcefulness, determination and action. It requires reading, writing, talking, organization, and meetings. It may be possible to heighten interest and increase group participation if these discussions are supplemented where possible with projects. Discussion too can be practical.

Critical studies of newspapers, films and radio programs can serve useful purposes in illustrating some points in the pamphlet. Including a Member of Parliament or an economic group representative will help clarify other arguments. You can add other projects for making the discussions practical.

There's a great deal more satisfaction and value to taking part in a discussion project which illustrates the points to be made than in listening to, or sharing in, mere talk. There is no substitute for direct and full participation. That is the argument of this pamphlet. Where it can be, it should also be the method.

OUR KIND OF DEMOCRACY



Whatever our ideas about democracy, they must find their expression in politics. Every one of us in uniform is helping to carry out a political decision. No serious citizen can avoid politics. No citizen should want to. There is no more important duty. There is no more rewarding activity. It can be a hobby possessing infinite variety. Above all, political activity has openings for every *citizen*—however skilled or unskilled he may be.

A PRIVILEGE
AND A DUTY

A great many Canadians do take part. Nearly one thousand offered their time and ability to the country by becoming candidates in the recent federal election. Many thousands more gave their energy and money in support of these candidates. They did jobs of organization, of preparation and distribution of campaign literature, of door-to-door canvassing, of transportation of voters to the polls, and execution of the other tasks necessary for election campaigns.

THE PARTY
SUPPORTERS

However, not all people share this activity. Some people consider politics to be a dirty business. Others tell the Gallup Poll reporters that they don't trust the motives of political parties. Between 25%-30% of the eligible voters have neglected even to vote at each of the last half-dozen federal elections. Provincial and municipal election statistics are more negative still.

THE KEEP-OUT-
OF-IT CROWD

Letting George do it

This is not good enough. It makes it possible for a minority to control our democratic machinery. It also serves to decrease the general interest in local, national and international affairs—because we lose interest in matters which we *think* we can't influence. This is exactly the atmosphere in which our own kind of Fascism can arise.

WE CAN'T
AFFORD TO
NEGLECT
POLITICS

Now it's true that politics in Canada have had their

THEY'RE
IMPROVING

bad spots. There have been scandals, big and small. But we're not alone in that and the scandals are fewer nowadays.

That's a good sign. It indicates greater vigilance on the part of the public and a growing sense of responsibility.

Get Cracking

But even if that weren't true, the answer to corrupt political life is to CLEAN IT UP, not to leave it for the thugs.

IT DOES MAKE
A DIFFERENCE

The kind of government we have, does make a difference. It makes a difference in the steps taken to provide full employment; in the kinds of taxes we pay; in the list of priorities for health, housing, security measures; in efforts to improve Federal-Provincial relations; in our attitude to war and peace. **NOTHING IS MORE IMPORTANT.**

This series of discussions will provide us with opportunities to see how we can take part effectively.

Our Government's policies have always been *more* or *less* democratic. But a more-or-less attitude doesn't always win wars or peace.

Fighting for Democracy

Let's look at this idea of—Democracy—a little more closely.

THE FIGHT
ISN'T NEW

We are finishing off a war against Fascism; a war for the preservation of democratic methods. Spain, Ethiopia and Manchuria were scenes of wars fought against anti-democrats. The first World War was contested in democracy's name. The Russian Revolution, the French Revolution, the American War of Independence, the Civil War in England were all related to the struggle for democracy. People have always been willing to fight for the democratic idea.

What do we Mean — Democracy?

There are a lot of different ideas about this word—Democracy. No two countries have made exactly the same interpretations. Nor have any two established the

same institutions of government. Democratic methods in Canada aren't the same as those in Britain, France, the United States, the U.S.S.R. or Denmark. Nor should we necessarily expect all countries to follow our pattern of government. The stages and types of democratic development are not the same in all countries.

DIFFERENT
INTERPRETA-
TIONS

What we in Canada think is exciting new legislation—like labour regulations, unemployment insurance or health insurance—may be old stuff in Great Britain; or, vice versa—for example, our rehabilitation provisions are more inclusive and we are well up in Family Allowance plans.

Most of the English speaking nations have put their emphasis on political democracy. The U.S.S.R., on the other hand, has put the emphasis on economic democracy; expecting "from each according to his ability" and giving "to each according to his work". It's not clear yet how China and India will work out *their* systems.

POLITICAL
AND/OR
ECONOMIC
DEMOCRACY

Freedoms

Nations don't even interpret the Freedoms the same way. Freedom of speech, of assembly, and of the press have meant different things at different times in Canada, the United States, France and other countries. Sometimes these freedoms have been taken away from certain minority groups. At other times, speakers have been allowed to proclaim themselves for or against whatever they like.

SPEECH
PRESS
ASSEMBLY

Freedom from want doesn't mean the same thing to a factory hand that it does to a novelist, nor does it mean the same thing in China and Canada.

What does Democracy mean to a Nazi? A Canadian Indian? A refugee from Nazism? An American Negro?

Franchise

The right to vote has meant different things in different places. Women in France have only this year been allowed to vote. In certain American states, inability to pay a poll tax prevents many from voting. We shall consider Canadian franchise restrictions later.

Summary

Now these matters—*political organization, economic security, the right to vote and the freedoms*, are all strands of the democratic web. But they aren't the whole fabric, by any means.

For us, all this simply means that we must continue to work out our own democratic pattern — our own method of achieving the things we want. We may discover good ideas in many different places. It's our job to sort out what's best for us.

Some Definitions

Before we leave the subject, here are a few definitions of Democracy:

- AN AMERICAN (1) " *that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth.*"
- A RUSSIAN (2) "*Democracy does not consist in dropping a piece of paper into a ballot box every so often—but in the maximum participation of the maximum number of people in the actual running of the country.*"
- AN ENGLISHMAN (3) "*Government is a contrivance of human wisdom to provide for human wants. Men have a right that these wants should be provided by this wisdom.*"

What Kind of Democracy have we got?

HERE ARE SOME CLUES

PARLIAMENT

Our educational system is administered by the provinces, with private schools in some areas. We have

EDUCATION

privately *and* publicly supported universities. Of our information services the newspapers are privately controlled; while there is a national radio system with private stations operating locally, and a national film board as well as privately owned production agencies.

INFORMATION
SOURCES

We have two official languages.

LANGUAGES

We have a system of free competition in industry, with some publicly owned services, such as the Canadian National Railways, Trans-Canada Air Lines and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

BUSINESS

There is freedom of assembly, of speech and of worship.

FREEDOMS

What are the Limitations in our Democratic Set-Up?

Canada is a fully sovereign state, but we haven't decided how we are going to make amendments to the British North America Act which serves as part of our Constitution. That we discovered in an earlier pamphlet. Within our own government machinery, we have a Senate which is not elected.

Asiatics in British Columbia, except those who fought in the last war, are not allowed to vote in either provincial or federal elections. Canadian Indians—again except those who have served in World War I or II—have no vote. Doukhobors are exempt from military service and excluded from voting by old agreement.

FRANCHISE

The first count of the vote in the 1945 Federal election indicated that, because of our voting system, 39% of the voters had elected 48% of the members. That's an indication that our voting system doesn't fully meet our needs.

MINORITIES
DECIDE

But there are other limiting factors which are perhaps as serious. We have a very large country with a small population strung in a narrow band across it. We have two large national groups and many smaller ones—a situation which often divides loyalties and slows our progress. We have regional interests conflicting with national interests.

DIVISIONS

Some individuals and groups—because of the larger

resources they control—exercise far more power than others. They may influence individuals' lives in matters such as wages and hours and working conditions. They may even influence more basic decisions such as expansion or restriction of production. Sometimes these decisions are made for their own, rather than public, benefit.

DANGER SIGNS

We have already seen our danger spots of race prejudice in an earlier pamphlet. There have been times of restricted political organization and discussion. Before the war we had a Fascist party organized and in training.

In industry, we have seen Canadian sweat shops and sub-basic wages; discrimination against labour organizers and reprisals against strikers.

Free enterprise is the economic system by which Canada has developed industrially. As in every industrial country in the world, it has shown tendencies toward monopoly. In a few industries Canada has already reached the stage of absolute monopoly. (Absolute monopoly means complete control by any one company of the production and/or distribution of certain commodities and services.) The more important are explosives, nickel and certain heavy chemical lines.

QUESTIONS

1. *Can you define what you mean by democracy?*
2. *How many politicians do you know personally? Do you consider that they are different in any way from other Canadians?*
3. *How satisfactory do you consider "government by persuasion" as a definition of democracy?*
4. *Can you define what you mean by fascism?*
5. *In what ways is our democracy limited?*
6. *What contrasts between our own and the Nazi kind of government can you name?*

DEMOCRATIC FORCES IN CANADA

2

Democracy in Canada, or anywhere else, is based on organization; that is, on organizations of people in which the membership has the say in what is done. Hence there is no more important right than the right to form or join any organization that we want to—freely, and without risk. Two of the largest and strongest democratic forces in Canada are the organizations of workers—trade unions—and the farm organizations.

**MANY HEADS
ARE BETTER
THAN FEW**

They are just the sort of organization Hitler had to break down and replace with his own tame groups in Germany before he could be sure of holding power.

In Canada, both farm and labour organizations have gained strength during the war. Both are active and growing. Both have made impressive contributions to the war, as we have learned in earlier discussions. These two represent the largest portions of the population and they are taking their citizenship seriously.

**FARMERS AND
LABOUR**

Organization has increased

The labour unions have almost doubled their membership during the war. From 360,000 members in 1939, they had grown to 665,000 by the end of 1943. With their families the unions represent more than two and a half million Canadians. There are four major labour groupings: the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada; The Canadian Congress of Labour; the Canadian and Catholic Confederation of Workers; and the independent railroad brotherhoods.

GROWTH

Their wartime emphasis has been production, more production and still more production. With only 5% more workers, production was increased by 85%. But their war and peacetime concern for reasonable living and working conditions for workers is broadened to in-

**WORKING
CONDITIONS
PLUS**

clude the necessary related subjects—civil liberties and educational opportunities, housing and recreation.

Education and Politics

Both labour and farm groups have taken part in educational programs on a large scale. Mine, automobile and electrical workers—among others—have their own educational directors. Research directors are being added to union organizations.

At the same time, North American labour groups have been facing as groups the same question that we all face as individuals—that of political activity. Political Action Committees exist in both Canada and the United States. Some parts of labour favour direct support of an existing political party; other sections want to remain free to use their political strength where it will do the most good at any given moment.

There are a Lot of Farmers.

The farm movement has also been a force in helping the farmers do all they could to feed the war machine of Canada and her allies. The Canadian Federation of Agriculture represents 348,000 members. Its chief jobs are to bring together the different branches of agriculture and to assist in working out national farm policies to meet international as well as national conditions.

The farm movement too, has extended its educational work. Study groups, pamphlet publication, conferences have increased in numbers and strength. So far, the Canadian Federation of Agriculture has remained non-partisan in politics, but it does present the farmers' case to the proper authorities.

Each year, a delegation meets the Prime Minister to submit a general agricultural statement. This is supplemented from time to time with other presentations to the government by national or regional farm groups.

Both labour and farm movements — particularly farm—have co-operated with the CBC in organizing group discussions of Canadian problems.

HIRING
INSTRUCTORS
FOR YOURSELF

DIRECT OR
INDIRECT
APPROACH

FARMERS TOO

THE FARMERS
IN THE
DELEGATION

There are Other Democratic groups

But farm and labour organizations are not the only democratic forces in Canada. Youth groups have been active in looking to the future as well as in carrying the burden of war. There are study groups; church groups; art, dramatic, handicraft, and music groups; athletic groups.

**YOUTH
ORGANIZES**

The Red Cross and Community Chest programs have been supported largely by voluntary assistance. Constructive and necessary jobs like Blood Donor Clinics, anti-V.D. campaigns, and Get-Out-and-Vote efforts have been done.

CITIZEN JOBS

There are co-ordinating committees, town planning executives, service club programs, civil liberties committees. There is the Canadian Association for Adult Education and the Canadian Council of Education for Citizenship, the Canada and Newfoundland Education Association, and the Canadian Institute of International Affairs. There are the Women's Schools for Citizenship, and Volunteer Bureaus. Added together, their numbers are impressive and their activities important.

**AND THERE
ARE LOTS MORE**

Statistics and activities alone don't decide things. The framework of democratic organizations requires use of minds and imaginations and determination of Canadian citizens in order to make them effective.

**THEY NEED
OUR HELP**

What about Economic Interest groups?

Because Ottawa is the law-making centre of Canada, those individuals and groups who want to present their ideas or protect their interests crowd the Capital's hotels while Parliament is in session. Many of the delegations represent economic interest groups — Farmer, Manufacturer, Labour, or Professional. They make available to cabinet ministers, committees or private members the results of their researches. They put forward the interests of their section of the population. They arouse interest in the question under discussion and they bring issues sharply to a focus.

PRO AND—

On the other hand, they are likely to over-state one side of the case. They may create friction between groups. Some organizations are able to make repre-

sentations more easily than others, e.g. B.C. fruit growers and Nova Scotia fishermen would have to travel long distances to get to Ottawa—whereas Montreal aircraft factory workers or Toronto manufacturers would find it much more feasible.

Sometimes delegations go to advocate new policies. Generally they go to criticize or support plans announced by the government.

Pressure groups are ultimately good or bad according to whether they help or hinder us in achieving the things we want. They are good as they take into consideration the question of unity among ourselves and with the community of nations. They are bad in so far as they sow distrust and confusion and jealousy and suspicion. They are good as they assist the underprivileged. They are bad as they encourage special privileges and retard progress.

Veteran's organizations

The strong esprit de corps which has developed among us during the war will find its continuation in branches of veteran's organizations if we follow the pattern set by the veterans of the last war.

While the Legion is, perhaps, the most prominent, there are many other veteran organizations interested in the veteran's welfare; e.g. such as the Army and Navy Veterans in Canada, and War Amputations of Canada.

We have seen the Legion at work in Auxiliary and Educational Services. It has not been idle on the home front. The Legion pressed for a Department of Veterans Affairs. It supported the move for an increase in Clothing Allowances on Discharge; in Dependents' Allowances and many other matters. It has been aggressively interested in the welfare of the men and women fighting this war.

Between the wars, the Legion was active in supporting the claims of veterans for pensions, jobs, and health care. Its programs were local as well as national. By 1945 there were almost 2,000 Branches and Auxiliaries, representing nearly a quarter of a million people.

Legion membership cuts across economic groups and works in matters of special concern to war veterans rather than to particular economic interest groups.

Opinion groups

Citizen organizations work in many different ways and at many different levels. On a national scale, there are organizations like the Trades and Labour Congress, the Canadian Congress of Labour, the Canadian Federation of Agriculture, the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, the Canadian Chamber of Commerce. These groups have international interests, too.

LABOUR AND
MANAGEMENT

Professional groups of doctors, lawyers, accountants, engineers, teachers and others all have their own organizations.

PROFESSIONAL
PEOPLE

Consumer and Co-operative organizations work locally in the interests of their members. Co-operative business organizations in the Prairies alone, had 400,000 members in 1943. Many church and service clubs have contributed to the entertainment and hospitality of servicemen and women. They have useful peacetime programs too. Nurseries and kindergartens have been established as essential parts of community life.

IN THE
COMMUNITY

These associations of people contribute experience, information and goals to the people who join them. They may at the same time obscure broader vision and consume excessive energy to the peril of bigger issues. If a person gives his full time and energy to the support of a single group project such as a poultry or dairy association he will be less likely to see how other groups such as labour or professional fit into the national picture. Participation in a political party's program has the advantage of requiring a wider horizon; although it will obviously reduce the concentration of attention on the individual's own occupational interest. We learned during the war to fit our interests into one large international plan. We can harness them to an integrated program again.

KEEP THEM
IN THEIR PLACE

Does Public Opinion get Results?

Canadian public opinion has been heard during the

AGREEMENT

war. Both in the declaration and prosecution of the war there has been no question of where public opinion stood. Its strength and unanimity were indicated in many ways: in war finance, in acceptance of rationing irritations, in support of National Selective Service, in labour-management co-operation, in production, in the services. There is no question of public support for the establishment of a world organization for the maintenance of peace.

DISAGREEMENT ON DETAIL

On matters both of principle and of detail Canadians often disagreed with their government and caused changes to be made. For instance, the Clothing Allowance originally decided on for discharged veterans was changed from \$35 to \$65 and then to \$100 following strong representations from many groups of people.

PROTECTING MINORITIES

On one occasion, the House of Commons accepted an amendment to the Elections Act from a committee, gave the bill third reading without a dissenting voice and sent it up to the Senate. The Senate, encouraged by citizen protests, amended the Act so that the vote of a great many useful Canadians could not be taken away from them.

PRIORITIES

Relative importance isn't always the deciding factor in securing wide public support. Community centres have had far more popular support than, say, Health Insurance.

QUESTIONS

1. *What is to be said for and against labour organizations or farm organizations supporting a political party?*
2. *How many cases do you know in which groups of people made their opinions known to the government?*
3. *Do you consider 'lobbying' a healthy activity in a democracy?*

OUR DEMOCRATIC MACHINERY

3

Consideration of our democracy's strengths and weaknesses doesn't change them, any more than knowing our wants satisfies them. We must understand how the machinery works before we come to any decision about altering it. The best methods of improving it will be discovered by using it as it is.

TRY IT THE
WAY IT IS

Making Decisions

Knowing what we want and making a decision about getting it are two different things, as every soldier who has contemplated an enemy-occupied pillbox knows. Different circumstances require different techniques. Making a decision to visit the wet canteen doesn't require as complicated machinery as deciding that canteen profits could permit a reduction in the price of beer.

DECISIONS

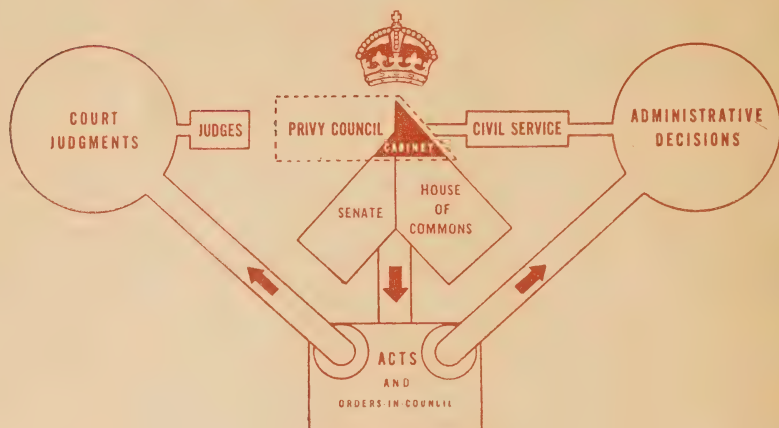
Reaching decisions on a national scale is more complicated still. Our country is nearly as large in area as Europe. We have approximately 12,000,000 people. We speak many different languages and attend scores of different churches. We work at hundreds of different jobs — from fishing to farming, mining to manufacturing and from hockey to health. This size and variety influences all of Canada's decisions. We often forget these differences when we are critical of decisions taken —or not taken. We don't realize that speed in passing legislation is dependent on representatives of this variety reaching agreements.

CANADA'S
VARIETY

Functions of Government

There are three major sections to this business of governing—making of laws, administering of laws and interpreting of laws. It is possible either to concentrate

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT MACHINERY



all three in the same government bodies or to separate them.

CANADA

In Canada we have put the chief responsibility for law-making and law administration into the hands of the cabinet; but we leave the interpretation of the laws to an independent group of judges.

THE UNITED STATES

The United States separates all three. Congress makes the laws. Secretaries of State—appointed by the President and approved by the Senate, but not members of Congress—administer them. Some of the judges who interpret them are appointed, some elected; they are not members of Congress.

GREAT BRITAIN

In Great Britain, as in Canada, legislation and administration are concentrated in the Cabinet. But Great Britain, unlike Canada and the United States, also includes its highest judicial authorities in the House of Lords; i.e. in Parliament.

How do we make our Decisions?

DIVIDED RESPONSIBILITY

One attempt to simplify the problem of reaching agreements in our complex country was suggested to us by the United States—whose problems resemble our

own. Like the Americans, we divided governing authority.

The British North America Act gave certain responsibilities to the Federal Parliament and others to the provincial legislatures.

Generally speaking, decisions affecting the whole country are made by Parliament at Ottawa. Parliament made the decision that we should go to war against Germany. It made the decisions during the war and it will make national decisions after the war.

Let's examine the House of Commons organization. In order to get around the difficulties of Canada's size and population, we have what is called representative government—one citizen represents many. He or she is chosen to represent a 'constituency'. At the moment there are 245 constituencies in Canada. They vary in size and population. The Island of Montreal has sixteen; the whole of the Yukon has one. There are about 2,000 voters in the Yukon; 65,000 in St. James constituency on the Island of Montreal.

ONE
REPRESENTS
MANY

Quebec's population is taken as a guide in setting the number of members in our House of Commons. Quebec is allowed 65 members. Dividing Quebec's population by 65, and relating the result to the populations of the other provinces, determines the number of members for each province. In 1941 this method gave us a member for approximately every 50,000 people. Every ten years, after the census has been taken, the number of members for each province except Quebec is re-determined, and constituency boundaries changed where necessary. (The last re-allocation, which should have followed the 1941 census, was postponed until after the war.) To reduce political manoeuvring in this operation, the job is now done by a committee of the House of Commons which includes members of the opposition.

CONSTITUENCIES

Elections must be held at intervals not longer than five years. These elections give us the opportunity to select those who will get done what we want. Sometimes we defeat a government merely because we haven't liked it. That isn't the best way to improve things.

POSITIVE OR
NEGATIVE
ACTION

Municipal government

CLOSE TO HOME

When government gets down to laying sidewalks and grading roads, providing police and fire protection, health services, and financing schools, it is easy to understand and criticize and take part in it. This 'visible democracy' is the foundation of our system. All our governments depend as much on strong municipal councils for their effectiveness as do military services on the Other Ranks. It is the training ground for provincial and federal politics, but it is also important in its own right.

POSSIBILITIES IN MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

When all people take up the headaches and pleasures of municipal administration, they make the community a better place to live in. It is municipal authority which decides the quality of school and teacher which will be made available to the children of the district. Municipal government has responsibility for the safety of buildings we shall occupy and for recreation facilities and amusement licenses. Where it is active and energetic, the neighbourhood comes alive. It is at this local level that a democracy faces its test.

Sources of Revenue

LAND VALUES

Municipal revenue sources are allotted to them by provincial governments. Property values are generally the chief source. As municipal services increase, the income of the municipality must also increase. The land value in an urban or rural municipality may or may not increase at the same rate. Drought or hail may affect agricultural areas so that in a given year farmers may have no income out of which to pay taxes.

In cities the problem is just as difficult. Landlords are eager to secure as high rents as possible for their homes and apartments. They may over-value their property. City and town property assessors are just as eager that the assessment rate be high in order that they may secure sufficient income to pay the civic bills—police, fire, health, sanitation, schools. So the land values and tax rates both remain unreasonably high.

As you might expect, this tendency discourages new housing projects, and at the same time contributes to

the increase of out-dated housing facilities. These breed slums—and slum conditions require more community services—fire, police, delinquency courts, health clinics and so on. It is the old vicious circle.

Municipal voting requirements

Voting regulations in local elections vary in different parts of the country. In many districts the right to vote is limited to taxpayers, property owners, and tenants. In others there is universal franchise except on matters involving large expenditures in which case only property owners can vote.

MUNICIPAL
FRANCHISE

Local government may be closest to us but it does not get most attention. In Federal elections since the last war, some 70% of those eligible to vote actually did vote. In municipal elections 25%-30% voting participation is not uncommon.

NEGLECT OF
FRANCHISE

Provincial governments

Each of the nine provinces has its own legislature. In one province only (Quebec) is there an appointed Upper House as well. Each province has a Lieutenant Governor, appointed by the Governor-General-in-Council. (Governor-General-in-Council is the term applied to decisions made by the Privy Council (Cabinet) and confirmed by the Governor General.)

LEGISLATURES

Provincial governments provide the machinery for handling all matters that are not of nation-wide importance. They differ from municipal governments in size, in their possession of parliamentary institutions and in their possession of constitutional authority. (The details of that authority have been discussed in an earlier pamphlet.)

The right to vote in provincial elections is universal to Canadians over 21, except for Asiatics and Doukhobors in British Columbia and Indians on reservations anywhere in Canada who did not serve in the last war or this. Manitoba requires that all voters be able to speak English.

FRANCHISE
QUALIFICATIONS

Provincial parliaments operate very much like the House of Commons, which will be considered in detail.

4

PREPARING THE COUNTRY'S BUSINESS

PARLIAMENT AT WAR WORK

Federal elections have taken place pretty much as usual in Canada during the war. They were held in 1940 and 1945. Sessions of Parliament have also continued. Between September 1, 1939 and May 1, 1945 members of the House of Commons put in 571 work days. Include weekends and extra committee sessions and it adds up to a lot of time.

From a spectator's point of view, there has been little change in the working of the House. The number of cabinet ministers has increased nearly 50%—from 16 to 22—but the debating, the information-seeking and the voting go on unchanged.

STAFF INCREASES

Ottawa hasn't been perpetually harassed by bombs and finally dispossessed of a meeting place, as the British House of Commons was. It has been engulfed in work. Between the creation of new Departments and the expansion of old ones, the number of government employees has increased with incredible speed. Between January 1939 and January 1943, the total rocketed from 49,700 to 101,785 and kept right on climbing, until in March, 1945 there were 112,000 civil servants in Canada.

This behind-the-scenes growth of activity reflects a growth in the number of decisions that are being made, whether the House of Commons looks much different or not.

How does the War Affect Decision Making?

A NEW TYPE OF CONSTITUTION

The urgencies of war have their effects. The War Measures Act confers on the Federal Parliament for the duration of the war emergency, greatly increased powers. In effect we have a new constitution to suit our wartime needs. The old disputes about whether the

Federal Government or the provincial governments had the power to take action on certain matters were washed out.

We must have it at once

The system of allocating money to Federal government departments has also been speeded up. Cabinet ministers have been allowed to proceed with necessary war expenditures with less red tape than usually precedes the allocation of departmental grants. However, the examination of expenditures following their approval has been no less thorough.

MUNITIONS
AIRCRAFT
MESSING AND—

BUT DON'T
WASTE ANY

Decisions Outside the House of Commons

A further indication of the pressure of war work is clear from the number of Orders-in-Council handled by the Cabinet between September 10, 1939 and April 10, 1945. In those 5½ years, 84,800 submissions were approved by the Council. That works out to one every 34 minutes—just slightly under two for every hour of every day and night for the whole period.

ORDERS-IN-
COUNCIL

They included appointments, resignations, payments to firms and persons for services rendered, remission of taxes; contracts for supply of goods or services under the Munitions and Supply Act (by far the greatest number are in this class); accommodation, supplies and services for government departments, regulations of National Selective Service; Wartime Prices and Trade Board regulations; Defence of Canada Regulations, and other wartime regulations.

This method of making decisions naturally drew criticism from Opposition members. They felt that government was being conducted outside the House. Defence of the practice was made on grounds of the war emergency which increased the pressure of work. Besides it is necessary to act in a hurry during a war.

FOR WARTIME
ONLY

Chiefly this indicates the increase in the responsibility (and the authority) of the cabinet in time of war.

What else does the Cabinet do?

It's quite obvious that the cabinet ministers are important people. But that's not all there is to it. The

IT'S ALL PART
OF THE JOB

Cabinet selects the party's candidate for Speaker of the House. It prepares the Speech from the Throne (that is, the agenda for that session of Parliament). The Cabinet has the exclusive right to introduce resolutions calling for the spending of money. It regulates procedure and controls appointments to committees. The responsibility of the cabinet doesn't stop there.

LEGISLATION
AND
ADMINIS-
TRATION

Cabinet Ministers are selected from the majority party in the House of Commons to head a particular department. They may occupy the position for a few months or for many years. The degree of permanence depends on political factors. While he holds office the Minister is held responsible for the administration of laws affecting his department and for the drafting of new laws to meet new situations.

The details of both these jobs are taken care of by the permanent staff of civil servants. The staff looks after the records, does the research, and carries out the Minister's instructions (which may include advising the Minister). A cabinet minister who doesn't know what his Department is doing will soon find himself completely dependent on civil servants. That situation is no more desirable than a military situation in which an officer or N.C.O. doesn't know what his subordinates are doing.

What about after the War?

CABINET HOME-
WORK AFTER
THE WAR

There's no sign of a rest for Cabinet Ministers. Ministers dealing with full employment and international trade agreements are going to require plenty of political science as well as political art after the war.

HE ALSO HAS
ELECTIONS
TO FACE

No matter how competent a Minister may be in discussing theories of full employment or price control or health insurance with the experts, he still has to satisfy the people who aren't experts—the men and women in the ranks.

How did that come about?

LONG AGO

It wasn't always this way. In the early days of British rule in Canada, the Governor picked his own advisers and kept them in office as long as they pleased

him. The same method—not on a temporary basis—was used in some of the American Colonies until they indicated their displeasure in 1775-76. Even those who did not join the revolt (and came to Canada) wanted more say in their own affairs. It took a long time—and some trouble in 1837—but by 1848 the Governor's advisers were responsible to an elected assembly. They still are.

**WINNING
RESPONSIBLE
GOVERNMENT**

Confidence vote

When an important government-sponsored Bill is defeated in the House of Commons, the government is considered to have lost the 'confidence' of the House and usually resigns; whereupon the Governor General either calls on someone else to form a government or dissoles the House and an election is called. Sometimes government leaders 'stage' confidence votes which require the loyalty of hesitant followers or demonstrate government strength to the country and the world.

Control over the Cabinet

We've learned that decisions in war go to the side with most men, most equipment, most skill and greatest determination. Getting what we want in peace involves the same things. The Cabinet Ministers are chosen from the party which exerts enough influence in an election to secure more members than any other group. (For discussion of party politics—see Chapter 6.)

**THE PARTY
WITH THE
MAJORITY**

The Prime Minister

The leader of the party which has the largest number of members or which can get the support of the majority in the House of Commons becomes Prime Minister. He must deal with all matters—regional and national. This requires a national point of view. His Cabinet Ministers will necessarily be preoccupied with regional or specialized matters—Fisheries, Agriculture, Finance, Labour, Trade and Commerce, Justice, Transport. He has to weld them together and preserve a

ALL OF CANADA

national balance. He has to be ready to recruit new material for the Cabinet and fill vacancies when they occur. In addition (up to now in Canada) he is required by statute to act as his own Foreign Minister (Secretary of State for External Affairs).

Who does the Choosing?

The Prime Minister selects the Cabinet. His job is not an easy one. He must above all else keep the support of his own party. If he doesn't, he faces the prospect of defeat. Therefore he must try to reconcile major factions in the party.

Some of the factors which must be considered in cabinet selection will be provincial or regional loyalties, and the strength of large cultural and religious groups in the country. At the same time efficiency in the Departments must be maintained, and legislation requirements understood.

The Cabinet and the Party

Since the cabinet is selected from the party or parties having the majority in the House of Commons, its support will come from the same group. Cabinet decisions will have to satisfy its supporters in the House. Government supporters exercise their influence in various ways.

Party Caucus

Frequently during a session of Parliament, the parties hold private meetings—called caucuses. At a caucus, members of the party talk over the decisions that have to be made. In the government caucus, busy cabinet ministers (who may only get to their constituencies a few times a year—if as often as that) will depend considerably on the opinions which the members bring with them from the farms and shops and pubs of their constituencies across Canada.

On the other hand, cabinet ministers will be experienced in political and departmental affairs. They know the problems of administration. They have a picture of the whole scene through cabinet meetings and

CABINET
REPRESENTA-
TION

CABINET AND
PARTY

THE WHOLE
PARTY DECIDES

their own work. But they must be able to answer the members' questions and convince them about their policies. No cabinet can carry on without the confidence of the other party members.

Minority parties have their own caucuses. Apart from the caucuses, there are informal meetings between members and ministers. There are Information Periods almost every day the House is in session. During these periods all kinds of questions are asked—from how many Indians reside at Westbank Indian Reserve to how much was spent on recruiting during a specific period.

Members of Parliament act on committees — which we'll discuss later—and speak in the House. They introduce Bills. They present delegations to Ministers. There are visits, from and to, centres of attention. In what spare time they can find, they have correspondence from their constituents to answer.

**THE PRIVATE
MEMBER HAS
HIS OPPOR-
TUNITIES**

His Majesty's Loyal Opposition

All of this doesn't minimize the importance of the Opposition. Opposition members have the same opportunities in the House that a non-cabinet government member has. They can make their attitudes known in the House, introduce private Bills, ask questions, criticize the government legislation, work on committees and communicate with cabinet ministers.

The chief responsibility of the Opposition is to point out the flaws in government Bills and abuses in administration and to act as a goad in the matter of new legislation and election promise fulfilment. At different times in our political history oppositions have been known to throw aside this constructive role and simply endeavour to block government business. This they can do by speaking frequently and at great length in committee. This action is known as a 'filibuster'. It is a rare kind of manoeuvre today in Canada.

**DON'T UNDER-
ESTIMATE THE
OPPOSITION**

An effective opposition can contribute greatly to national improvement. We pay the Leader of the Opposition \$10,000 plus his indemnity of \$4,000, so that he can give his full time to the work of government.

QUESTIONS

1. *What arguments are there for and against considering depressions or situations of widespread unemployment, or housing shortages or drought, as national emergencies (as war is considered an emergency) so that effective action can be taken when it is most needed?*
2. *What do you understand by the term 'responsible' government?*
3. *What checks are there which prevent the cabinet members from taking complete authority into their hands?*
4. *Have you ever tried to discover what part your local Member takes in the House of Commons?
Have you ever asked his assistance?*
5. *What advantages and disadvantages do you see to party caucuses?*



MAKING OUR DECISIONS

5

People often come away from the galleries of the House with the impression that parliament is an ineffective sort of instrument for getting things done.

IMPRESSIONS
FROM THE
GALLERIES

An evening spent listening to lengthy speeches affects one the same way that some of the Service routine and regulations did in the basic training days (and perhaps even later).

But we learned that the same machinery that used to irritate and annoy was also capable of handling jobs like Dunkirk and Sicily and Italy and Normandy. In other words, it has a purpose and it does get things done.

Hasty impressions of Commons are just as likely to be deceptive. The fact that people can say what they do in the House is indicative of the breadth of our democratic idea. As a matter of fact, if the House talk gets too far away from barbershop talk, we can assume that government is getting away from the people. Generally, the number of members in their seats indicates the importance of the subject under consideration. The party whip can usually round up the members in a hurry if anything serious comes up. Much of the general discussion in the House takes place in reply to the Speech from the Throne drawn up by the Cabinet for any particular session.

AN OFFICIAL
HYDE PARK

After that is over, the members roll up their sleeves and tackle the Bills that have to be considered. Bills, whether they concern the setting up of a Munitions and Supply Board, or amending of the Clothing Allowance clause in Discharge Procedure, have the same cycle—an introductory reading; a second reading which is followed by intensive scrutiny; and then a final reading before it is sent to the Senate for similar treatment. After that, if the Bill is passed, the Governor General affixes his signature.

PROCEDURE FOR
LEGISLATION

Committees at Work

COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

The first 'reading' of the Bill introduces the subject matter. Second reading precedes the critical examination. Most of the speeches, criticisms, changes and recommendations are done in what is known as a 'Committee of the Whole'. This includes all members, but eliminates the formal, rigid rules of Parliamentary Procedure. It permits speakers to talk more than once. It allows greater interchange of ideas. The formal change that occurs is that the Speaker abandons his chair and the Deputy Speaker (or some other member) acts as 'chairman' of the session.

The 'Committee of the Whole' dissects the Bill clause by clause, line by line, phrase by phrase, and (if necessary) word by word. Bills vary greatly in length. In the 1934 session the Revision of the Bank Act occupies over 400 pages in the Statute books. An amendment to the Watermeter Inspector's Act took 5 lines.

NEXT SUB- SECTION PLEASE

There are other committees. Some are standing committees whose membership is apportioned every year, such as the Marine and Fisheries Committee, the Agriculture and Colonization Committee, the Banking and Commerce Committee, the Railway Committee, the Public Accounts Committee and many others. Special committees such as the Radio Committee may be set up from time to time for special jobs. They include a government party chairman and majority, and Opposition members as well, in proportion to their party's membership in the House.

STANDING COMMITTEES

LEADERSHIP

The chairman's job is an important one. To a considerable degree, the speed and thoroughness with which a committee gets its work done, depends on the chairman. Restricting the selection of chairmen to majority party members may mean overlooking better qualified and more experienced members from other parties.

A COMMITTEE AT WORK

The committees listen to reports from the responsible people. For instance, the Radio Committee hears statements from the Chairman of the Board of Governors of the CBC and from the General Manager. Members of the Committee listen, question, approve

and criticize. Interested citizens and groups of citizens are provided with opportunities, or may be summoned, to present written or verbal briefs. These may be bouquets or they may be brickbats. They may be suggestions.

After receiving all the submissions, the Committee sorts out all the ideas, organizes them and puts them into a report, usually with recommendations, which is submitted to the House of Commons.

COMMITTEE
REPORTS

Other Committees work the same way. Their sessions take place in the mornings, noon-hours, Saturdays or other spare time. House members who belong to several committees meeting at the same time have to work out a priority system to satisfy their interests and at the same time make their maximum contribution.

MEETINGS!
MEETINGS!
MEETINGS!

The number and length of Bills in any one session can be quite misleading as to the points of emphasis. A Bill short in length may require a lot of committee time (e.g. Family Allowances takes 5 pages and the Revised Bank Act 102 pages in the Statutes). A long Bill may be the revision of an old Bill with only a few changes needing attention.

Some Bills get more time in the House because some members consider it good policy to have a speech in the official record in Hansard for distribution throughout the constituency. The Debate on the Speech from the Throne and the Budget Speech are the usual focal points for oratory. Consideration of one War Budget took up over 1,800 pages in Hansard; but not a single change was made in the original proposals.

PUTTING
THINGS ON
RECORD

Royal Commissions

Occasionally governments use a direct method of discovering public opinion. The plebiscite of 1942 was an attempt by the government to secure a definite answer to a specific question relating to conscription.

On other occasions, when it is desirable to secure information or investigate charges, governments follow the practice of appointing commissions. These 'royal' commissions collect the facts, organize them into a re-

port and present the report to the government for its action or inaction. The best known of recent Canadian royal commissions was the Rowell-Sirois Commission which dealt with Dominion-Provincial relations.

Members of Parliament are entitled to mail to their constituents, postage free, copies of speeches delivered by them in the House. This practice helps to keep citizens informed, but it also encourages long winded speechmaking (depending on whom you pick for your member).

Many people get a word-by-word account of the sessions through the purchase of Hansard. (\$3 from the King's Printer.) This material is useful for study purposes and for reference.

Citizens can write to their members on law-making business matters without having to stamp their envelopes.

QUESTIONS

- 1. How much do you know of what goes on in the House of Commons? In what ways would regular reading of Hansard be useful to an individual citizen or to a group of citizens?*
- 2. Royal Commissions usually assemble and present thorough studies of the subjects given them to investigate. How do you think this useful material could be made available for public consideration?*



POLITICAL GROUPS AND THE VOTING SYSTEM



People support political parties for as good (and as poor) reasons as they joined a particular service — Navy, Army or Air Force. They may have a personal preference or they may follow the family tradition. In the past most Canadians have not joined any party. At each election they have decided all over again how to vote.

THEY WON'T
COMMIT
THEMSELVES

As a result they were voting for people in whose selection they had no part, and about whom they may have known very little.

UNKNOWN
QUANTITIES

We have already seen how the members of the majority party control the cabinet. Are we sending representatives who know what we want? Do we know what they want?

In the inter-war period, three new national political parties have developed and taken their places with the two older parties. They differ among themselves; but they differ more seriously from the older parties. Some Canadians are obviously reaching new conclusions. No longer is it accurate to suggest that

NEW IDEAS

DIFFERENT
CONCLUSIONS

*" every boy and every girl
That's born into this world alive,
Is either a little Liberal
Or else a little Conservative."*

Political parties are important for several reasons. They have different methods of achieving the things we want — social security, housing, employment, agriculture, trade relations, and a world organization for peace. They have different points of view about what to do and how to do it; e.g. When and how should price controls be removed? How is full employment to be achieved? Parties can and do represent these differences.

WHAT COMES
FIRST?

Parties have different emphases—which may change

from time to time with changing conditions.

**CONSTRUCTIVE
CRITICISM**

Parties with sharply different points of view will provide more constructive debates by emphasizing new angles. Our method of government places great responsibility on the Opposition.

Party differences serve a useful purpose in forcing citizens to take sides on problems. This system gives the country benefit of the pooling of research and informational resources.

FALSE ISSUES

That's one side of the story. On the other hand, party differences are sometimes so small that only a smart lawyer can detect them.

**REMOTE
CONTROL**

The party system is also charged—more seriously—with being controlled from the top; i.e. over-stiff discipline by the party leaders. Claims are also made that control is exercised by the financial supporters of the party, who may not be known to the public at all. Some suggest that the names of parties' benefactors should be made known.

Most party leaders—it should be noted—have been selected at National Conventions, where party followers have their opportunity to decide who shall hold this important position.

**POLITICAL
EDUCATION**

The new parties are setting a standard for the older ones in their educational activities between elections with frequent regional and national conventions. These methods provide party supporters with a clearer understanding of policies and of issues. With subjects such as full employment and various social security measures to deal with, there is much to be said for popular courses in political affairs—whether they be partisan or non-partisan.

**VALUABLE
SESSIONS**

Regular conventions serve several useful functions: (a) they outline party programs; (b) they confirm or replace party executives; (c) they are useful in locating leadership, educating party membership and strengthening esprit de corps.

Party Funds

Election campaigns cost money: newspaper space, radio time, handbills, meetings, committee rooms, staff

and equipment. Even a small boy who doesn't know what a 'sugar daddy' is has his ideas about where the money comes from. It comes from those who are interested. There may be many subscriptions from party supporters. There may be a few wealthy benefactors.

**MONEY!
MONEY!
MONEY!**

Large sums of money from a few sources are much easier to handle than a lot of small contributions. Subscriptions are quite satisfactory so long as no strings are attached. There is no reason to prevent anyone subscribing as much as he pleases to party funds so long as he isn't purchasing some official or unofficial right or privilege. But his contributions usually carry with them the doubtful advantage of encouraging the paymaster to "call the party tune". At least it makes it difficult for a party which has been greatly aided by a wealthy supporter to be entirely neutral, if sometime that supporter's private interests should be affected by legislation. The new parties, with reformer's zeal, appear to do better in getting money from a wide base than do the old parties.

Have you a Better Method?

Some remedies have been suggested. The present law calls for strict accounting to the Returning Officer of all election receipts and expenses handled by the Official Agents of all candidates.

THE LAW

Another method would be to limit the amount of money spent by each candidate—with due allowance for constituency differences.

AN IDEA

Neither of these suggestions would be easy to enforce.

Most of the Canadian parties are loosely knit organizations. Even the national organizers don't pretend to know how many members they have. Most of the membership is in the individual constituency and that varies greatly.

Each party in a constituency maintains at least a skeleton executive, which calls nomination meetings, at which the constituency party membership nominates the party candidate.

Should nominating be regulated?

**CONTROL BY
THE EXECUTIVE**

Nominations are an important clue to the source of national political strength. Yet often in the past there has been so little interest in this crucial job of nominating candidates that a party executive has things pretty much its own way. Sometimes the executive simply names a candidate. Sometimes a candidate has even to be found. Sometimes two candidates each claim to be the official representative of their party. This situation encourages ambitious opportunists rather than competent statesmen. But there's no room for stone throwing until we get in and do a job ourselves.

Party Discipline

**CLOSE
DECISIONS**

In the past, party leaders seldom have had occasion to exert influence on their House members to get legislation passed. An exception to that would be a situation where the majority enjoyed by one party over the other in the House of Commons was small. In those cases, every vote would matter in a controversial issue and loyalty would be demanded. With the increase in the number of parties, support of the party on all issues has become increasingly necessary.

In the House of Commons an important job is that of the Party Whip, chosen by the party caucus, usually on nomination of the party leader. He is responsible for holding the party members in line. He arranges who will speak on what subjects for the party and consults with other party whips on speakers' lists. He is floor manager in the House for his party.

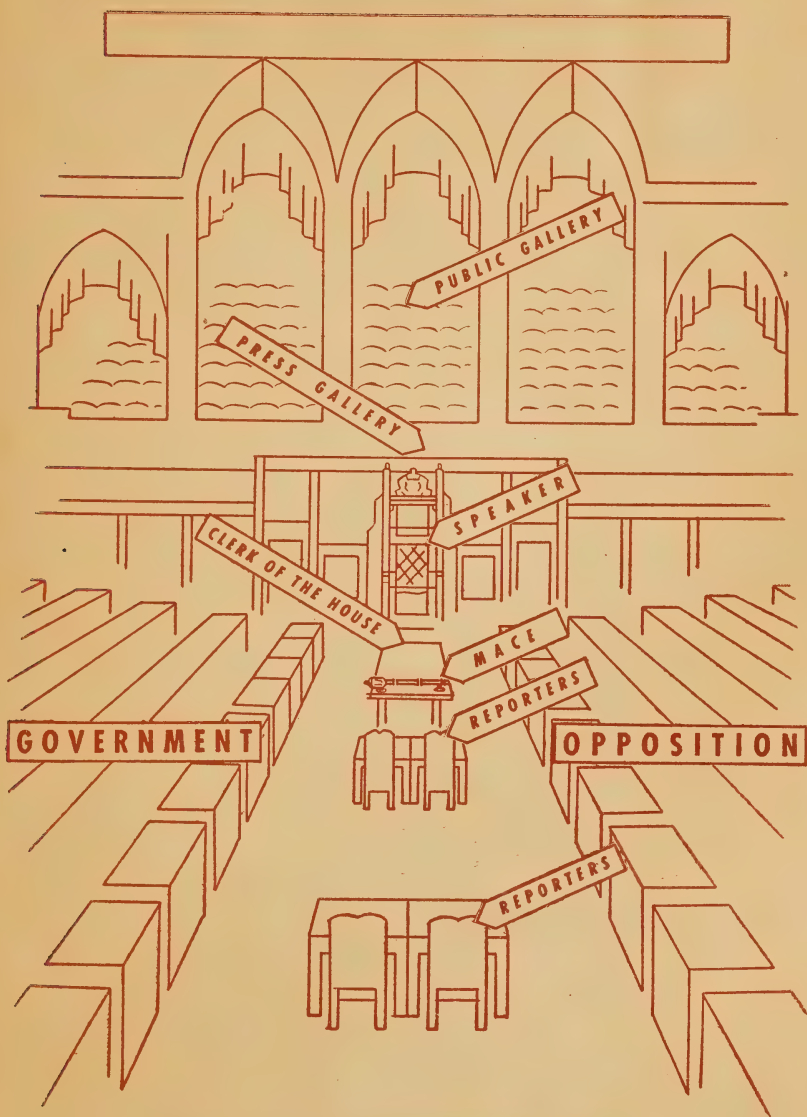
**ENCOURAGING
LOYALTY**

Party whips have several weapons they can use; for example:

- (1) Withdrawal of party support at election time;
- (2) Loss of member's status in party, (e.g. no seat in Senate or no patronage);
- (3) Withdrawal of party support for member's constituency needs;

The Two-Party System

Canada's government since 1867 has always been



HOUSE OF COMMONS, OTTAWA

carried on by the Liberal or Conservative parties or by a coalition of the two.

SEATING ARRANGEMENTS

In fact, the House of Commons' chamber in Canada as in England is designed for a two-party system with Government on one side and Opposition on the other. France, on the other hand, has a semi-circular arrangement of benches which is suited to her many-party system.

TWO PARTIES

The two-party system had obvious merit. Elections were straightforward contests between candidates of the two parties (with some Independents contesting seats here and there). Voting procedure was simple, and the X method of ballot marking quite adequate. Responsibility for policy making lay clearly with the majority party. The minority party kept a critical eye on the government to bolster its case for the next election.

PRESENT TRENDS

However, since the first world war, other parties have emerged and some of them appear to be more than temporary phenomena. This may mean coalition governments in the future, if the new parties receive support comparable to that enjoyed by the older parties.

It also means that this voting system will be much less likely to decide elections with majority decisions.

How Representative are our Governments?

ELECTION STATISTICS

Checking over the results of voting reveals some interesting facts. Here are some examples. In an Alberta election held on August 8, 1944 the Social Credit party won 51 out of 57 seats with 50% of the total vote, the C.C.F. won 2 seats with 25% of the vote, and Independents won 3 with 15%. On the same day an election in Quebec gave the Union Nationale 46 seats in a 91-seat house with 37% of the votes. The Liberals elected 37 members with 40% of the votes, the Bloc Populaire got 4 seats with 23%. Those are provincial vote totals.

MINORITY ELECTIONS

A two-party system offers no problem; but two-party elections are rare these days. In the 1940 Federal election 85 of the 245 seats were won with less than half the total vote cast, in those constituencies. In 1945, first

counts showed 143 candidates elected with less than half the total vote.

Any constituency which has more than two contestants can produce this situation when ballots are marked with an X.

There are two suggested solutions. For example, if A secures 10,000 votes, B gets 8,000 and C receives 4,000, it is clear that A does not have more votes than B and C together. If ballots are marked 1, 2, and 3 in order of preference it will be possible to take all of the second choices from C's ballots and redistribute them between A and B. The results may confirm A's original lead, or they may give B a majority. This system of voting uses the *single transferable vote*.

SINGLE TRANS
FERABLE VOTE

Proportional Representation

This method of ballot marking is also used in proportional representation. In proportional representation, however, constituencies are grouped. For example, instead of having four separate constituencies in Winnipeg, there would be only one. All the candidates' names would be listed on the one ballot and four members would be elected on the basis of the transferable vote system. This system is used in Winnipeg, Calgary and Edmonton and the transferable vote is used elsewhere in the two provinces for *provincial* elections.

FOR LARGE
CITIES

Obviously the X ballots will work well enough where two parties predominate. And proportional representation is not likely to be introduced by any well established party which believes that it can secure a majority without it. Besides, proportional representation encourages minority groups to sponsor candidates in large constituencies. This leads to an increased regional emphasis in the House.

OBJECTIONS

Compulsory Voting ? ? ?

The fact that many people do not exercise their right to vote has raised the question of compulsory voting or other effective means of increasing the percentage of voters. Early returns from 1945 Federal elections indicate that only about 46% of the Service

NON-VOTERS

personnel eligible actually voted; 76% of the civilians voted. It has been suggested that absence from voting on two successive occasions without good reason should disqualify a voter. Another method suggested is to assess every citizen a nominal sum which would be refunded to those who vote. Do you think such devices are necessary?

**MORE ADMINIS-
TRATION**

It must be realized, however, that there would be administrative difficulties. A large staff would be required to implement these ideas. Careful and complete files of every citizen's voting record would have to be kept. There is also the question of the value of exerting pressure to vote on people when they probably have little or no idea of what is at stake.

QUESTIONS

- 1. Does the fact that there are a number of political parties in a country mean that it is more democratic than a country with fewer parties?*
- 2. How many political parties can you name in Canada? How many in U.K.? In France?*
- 3. Do you know who your own M.P. is? What party he represents? Have you ever written him to approve (or disapprove) his stand on a given issue?*
- 4. Have you ever taken part in an election campaign?*
- 5. What do you think about compulsory voting?*



THE SENATE; THE COURTS; THE PUBLIC SERVANTS



The Canadian Senate takes a lot of abuse from political reformers. Some of it may be deserved. Some of it can be called in question. But first, here are a few facts:

Canada's Senate is intended to represent regions rather than population (as the House of Commons does approximately). It is made up of 96 members appointed for life by the Governor-General-in-Council. Each of the four main regions — Maritimes, Quebec, Ontario and the Western provinces—has 24 members. To be eligible for Senate appointment, one must be a resident of the province for which he is to be appointed, must possess \$4,000 worth of real property and be at least 30 years old. Like members of the House of Commons, Senators receive \$4,000 for each session of more than 65 days, and free railway transportation to and from their constituencies.

REGIONAL RE-
PRESENTATION

The Senate makes no claim to be a democratically chosen organization. It is an appointed body, not an elected one. Members receive life appointments. There is no direct answering to the people, although the Senate committees receive delegations and are in other ways sensitive to public opinion. Besides there is a property qualification which makes most of the population ineligible for appointment. Appointments are considered to be rewards for duties performed. This practice results in a high average age amongst senators. In 1943, the average age of Senators was 68 years.

APPOINTMENTS

What does the Senate do?

The Senate has authority both to amend and reject Bills that come up to it from Commons. Private Bills, but not Bills involving the expenditure of public money, can be introduced in the Senate. These must, of course,

SENATE AUTHORITY

be approved by the House of Commons. By arrangement with the House of Commons, the Senate committee handles all the divorce cases from Quebec and Prince Edward Island before they go to Commons. Quebec and Prince Edward Island have no judicial machinery for handling divorce cases. In general, the Senate scrutinizes all House of Commons legislation and must approve it before it becomes law.

Since death is less regular than elections, there are often more appointments during one five-year period than another. One government may be returned two or more times. A majority party in the House of Commons following such a government may, therefore, have a minority in the Senate. This situation has been a source of legislative delay; although in many decisions Senators have not voted on party lines.

SENATE AND MINORITY RIGHTS

On the other hand, the Senate does not reject Bills passed by the House of Commons except under unusual conditions. In fact, two of the most recent examples—one where the rights of Canadians of enemy national origin to vote might have been withdrawn, and the other, an amendment to the Criminal Code which put more responsibility for proving innocence on the shoulders of the accused—show it working for democratic principles which were being disregarded by the elected House. In general, it is supposed to act as a guard against hasty action by the House of Commons.

MATURITY

Age, experience, time, and independence have definite legislative advantages. Senate committees are often much better informed and efficient than corresponding Commons' committees. Senators have less interest in securing publicity.

USEFUL EMPLOYMENT

Senate debates can be extremely high in quality even when they don't make the front pages. The Senate does perform a constructive job in discussing matters like foreign policy, Federal-Provincial relations and electoral reform. It has been suggested that Senate committees might become "the eyes and ears of Parliament on the more complicated phases of government". They might do some of the work now done by Royal Commissions.

Unfortunately the Senate spends a good deal of the time simply waiting for Bills to come to it from the House of Commons.

What have the Courts and Judges got to do with it?

In spite of the best of intentions, laws passed by Parliament and signed by the Governor General aren't always completely clear. There may be an argument over what the words of the Act really mean. That argument can only be finally settled in a Court of Law — unless Parliament at another session passes an amendment to clear up its intentions.

**PROTECTING
OUR LIBERTIES**

If lawyers, either real ones or the armchair type, think the law as passed doesn't say what it is meant to — like the Traffic Law which ordered that "when two vehicles approach the same intersection simultaneously, each shall stop and wait for the other to pass" — they can challenge it.

It is possible to challenge the laws from another angle. Our discussion of the British North America Act showed that authority is divided in Canada between the Provinces and the Dominion. This fact makes it possible for either of these governments to pass laws which the other government may consider as falling within its authority. There are examples on both sides.

**DIVISION OF
DUTIES**

Premier Bennett's Federal government passed five acts in 1934, some parts of which were later declared by the courts to go beyond Federal authority. On the other hand, the late Premier Aberhart's government in Alberta invaded the Canadian Government territory, and was promptly, but legally, brushed off.

**DOMINION AND
PROVINCES**

It is obviously important that the judges in our courts of law should be impartial. That is one reason why they have permanent jobs guaranteed them. The actual wording of the act states that they hold office "during good behaviour" and qualifies that with the provision that "they shall be removable by the Governor General on address of the Senate and the House of Commons".

**LONG TERM
APPOINTMENTS**

The provinces decide what Courts are needed for

their legal purposes. The Federal government appoints and pays the judges in all but the lowest courts. It also maintains the Supreme Court of Canada and the Exchequer Court.

SALARIES

The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Canada receives a salary of \$15,000 a year. His six associates receive \$12,000. The Chief Justice of the Exchequer Court is paid \$10,000 and his associates, \$9,000. The provincial Chief Justices receive \$10,000; their associates, \$9,000. County and District Judges (of whom there are a great many: Ontario, for example, has 75; Nova Scotia, 7; Saskatchewan, 18; and so on) receive \$5,000.

The Highest Court

GOING OUTSIDE OF CANADA

The Supreme Court of Canada handles appeals from cases decided in the Provincial Courts. Appeals in civil cases can still be carried beyond our Supreme Court to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in England. That makes Canada one of the very few independent countries in which the final decision on points of law is made outside the country.

Appeals to a court sitting overseas are expensive. For that reason they can usually be taken only by wealthy litigants. It has been argued that English Judges are not familiar with Canadian decisions and hence that this right of appeal should be abolished. Against that others say that these judges, being farther away, are more likely to be impartial and so to protect minority rights.

QUESTIONS

- 1. In some countries Judges are elected for a term of years and not appointed as in Canada. Can you see any advantage one way or the other?*
- 2. In what ways would Canada gain and in what ways would she lose if the Senate were abolished?*

Who Carries out the Orders?

During the five years of war, Parliament passed many Acts. Some of these decisions concerned appointments to jobs. Some of them established new departments. Some of them concerned trade, commerce, prices, military organization and administration. In short, *some* of them were for the normal business of Canada. *Most* of them were for war.

THE WORK OF
PARLIAMENT

There was plenty to do. Ask the Administrative people you know in the Service how much is involved in carrying out the orders on even a small station unit—pay parades, daily orders, works and bricks, medical, messing, canteens, discipline, leaves and so on.

PAPER WORK

Wartime Expansion

In the pre-war days, between 40,000-45,000 civil servants handled the country's administration. They lived in all parts of the country. About one in every four worked for the Post Office. (The Post Office used to be by far the largest department.) By Spring of 1944 there were 110,000 civil servants. Nearly 85,000 of these were temporary appointments. In 1939, about 13,000 were temporary. As in all essential war jobs, the number of employees increased—with great rapidity. They were doing all kinds of work. There were runners and there were experts on foreign affairs. There were experts on finance and there were experienced stenographers. There were research people and information agencies.

CIVIL SERVANTS

The problems of the Civil Service won't be ended by war. For instance, there is the problem of appointments. At one time many government jobs were handed out as rewards for political services. But changes were made and in 1918 the present Civil Service Commission was organized. There are three Commissioners—who receive ten-year appointments, and are therefore free from political influence.

CIVIL SERVICE
COMMISSION

Civil servants today are required to be strictly non-partisan. They may not take part in political activities, except to vote. Selection is made increasingly on the basis of merit—decided through competitive examinations organized by the Commission.

APPOINTMENT
BY MERIT

Tomorrow's Civil Service

THEY WILL
STILL BE
NEEDED

Post-war civil service jobs will also be varied. Stenographers will still be needed. So will clerks, accountants, administrators and many other categories. So will the experts be needed. The details involved in various schemes for full employment, for health insurance, for international trade agreements, for housing acts, amongst other things, will not be worked out by enthusiasm and conviction alone. We shall need the best brains available to deal with our problems.

EXPLAINING
THE THEORIES

But we must insist that the experts "be on tap, not on top". We can do that by insisting on explanations of the jobs they're doing, just as we had explanations of rationing and price control and Victory loans during the war. As long as the expert knows that he must answer to the people, we need not fear bureaucracy.

PUBLIC APPRE-
CIATION AND
RECOGNITION

At the same time there is room for much more public interest in our civil servants and their abilities. Canadian price controllers, Canadian researchers, Canadian diplomats, Canadian agriculturists, Canadian meteorologists, Canadian radio people, have all won international recognition during the war, just as men and women in Canadian uniforms have. We can only keep those abilities by recognizing their worth.

Bureaucracy

BACK OF THE
DECISIONS

Since the war with its great increase in the number of civil servants — and even before then — there have been criticisms about bureaucracy in Canada. And most of us have had, at some time or another, experience of red tape and delay. Many regulations are needed in a society trying at once to be smooth-running and dynamic. The thousands of postmasters, customs and immigration inspectors, income tax clerks and others who have to meet the public with forms to be filled out can hardly be expected fully to understand them all.

LOOKING FOR
REASONS

It is when you walk up to the counter in a public building and the man behind it is as much in the dark as you are as to *why* you are required to do his bidding, that you are most inclined to become impatient of 'bureaucracy'.

What is the answer? There is no doubt that if each person's income, each immigrant, and each shipment is to be fairly dealt with, a complex and carefully made set of rules will be needed. Intelligent compliance with these rules calls for the same ingredients as are required sensibly to carry out King's Regulations—a sense of humour, and some knowledge of why they were made. This is one reason for having sufficient public information services in a democracy. Consideration of these services comes next in our discussions.

—AND GETTING
THEM

QUESTIONS

1. *What do you understand by bureaucracy? How can it be controlled?*
2. *Should civil servants be allowed to take part in politics? (What about teachers—or preachers—or lawyers?) What arguments can you list for or against civil servants taking part in election campaigns?*
3. *Should civil servants be allowed to vote?*
4. *What advantages and disadvantages do you see in 'working for the government'?*
5. *Do you think war service should be rated higher than ability in Civil Service appointments?*





INFORMATION SERVICES : THE PRESS

**WE'RE THE
MECHANICS**

All the machinery that we have been discussing is in motion now. It can't be stopped without serious disruption; but repairs can be made and improvements added. They won't be, unless we decide what changes we want and see that they are put into effect.

**SOUND
OPINIONS
WANTED**

We can only know how good the equipment is if we have worked at it or learned about it in some other way. The other ways of learning about it are from information services, from public meetings, from friends. What affects our opinions? Where do we get them?

**FROM THE
TOP DOWN**

Fascist countries have one opinion for everybody. Their information services do an effective job. They have to, or the government won't be able to last. The German people were saturated with Nazi ideas and Nazi answers. They were constantly exposed to them through the press, radio, and films. Dr. Paul Joseph Goebbels, the Nazi propaganda minister, was a very important figure in the Nazi set-up.

What about our own Information Services?

How do they work? Whose ideas are used? Who pays for them?

THE PRESS

Let's look at the press first. We Canadians have long prided ourselves on our freedom of the press. The record isn't perfect—but the main battle was won in 1837. Even throughout the war we have permitted our press to exchange ideas and to criticize what our government was doing. This, we believe, is the surest way of improving our methods of government and the most effective way of winning the war. We've insisted on the bad news as well as the good. We wanted to know about Dunkirk and Dieppe and the Ardennes and

**NEWS—GOOD
AND BAD**

Hong Kong and Singapore as we wanted to know about Casablanca and El Alamein and Ortona and Iwo Jima and Berlin.

We've accepted wartime censorship where it was necessary for security—and beyond it where it was difficult to draw a clear cut line.

The press has done a good job. It gave us leads in interpreting the war as well as reporting it. It provided information on rationing, munitions and agricultural production, war finance, auxiliary services, Red Cross and the many aspects of the war which were too widespread and distant for us to see ourselves.

GETTING THE
WHOLE PICTURE

What is Freedom of the Press?

Freedom of the press on this continent has meant many things. For some sections of the United States press, it has meant freedom to be anti-British, anti-Soviet. For the 'Christian Front' press, it has meant freedom to be anti-Semitic. During the San Francisco conference, some newspapers exaggerated differences of opinion between the British and Americans, on the one hand, and the Soviet Union on the other, to the point where people began to feel the conference was on the verge of collapse.

ELIMINATE THE
NEGATIVE

Those were newspaper policies—not of one newspaper alone, but of many.

There were other acts by individual newspapermen which had mixed receptions. An Associated Press reporter in disclosing V-E Day prematurely, talked about freedom of the press. One of the newspaper PM's writers refused to disclose the names of certain sources of information on the same ground. It raises the question as to how newspapers should use information from reliable sources when the latter wish to remain anonymous.

RESPONSIBILITY

Do Newspapers make Public Opinion?

The Who's Who of newspapers published in Canada identifies each one by its stated editorial policy. With very few exceptions our newspapers label themselves 'independent'. There are a few Liberal, Conservative,

EDITORIAL
POLICY

Independent-Conservative papers. Of more than 100 Canadian dailies, none calls itself C.C.F., Social Credit or Labor-Progressive.

This policy of newspapers announcing themselves as independent is sometimes misleading. A newspaper with admitted political affiliation is responsible at least to that group. An 'independent' newspaper is responsible to no social group and may for that reason be a less constructive political force in the community.

It has been pointed out many times that the editorial page is the least influential part of most newspapers. This is illustrated by a survey of newspaper opinion regarding support of the Presidential candidates in the 1940 United States elections. In that survey, it was discovered that 64% of the U.S. daily press (with combined circulation of 20,700,000) supported the Republican nominee—Mr. Wendell Wilkie; while only 23% (with circulation of 7,550,000) favoured Mr. Roosevelt, the Democratic candidate. The remaining 13% were neutral or undecided. In spite of the newspapers' editorial opinions, Mr. Roosevelt secured 26,500,000 votes against 22,000,000 for Mr. Wilkie.

Many people consider that headline and caption slanting are more effective than editorial ideas in shaping public opinion, because more people spend more time reading news pages than editorial pages. Newspapers can show 'attitudes' in many ways. Two Toronto papers indicated their views on the result of the 1945 Ontario election in these headlines:

DREW SWEEPS ONTARIO
MINORITY WINS FOR DREW

What Influences the Contents of Newspapers?

Newspaper publishing in Canada today is big business. One hundred years ago almost anyone, with enthusiasm and a few hundred dollars capital, could start a paper—and stand a fair chance of making a go of it.

Today, when big city dailies change hands, millions of dollars are involved. There is a constant struggle to

WHAT ABOUT
EDITORIAL
PAGES?

NEWS
EMPHASES

maintain circulation—to increase it at the expense of rivals. For increased circulation means increased advertising. And advertising goes a lot further toward making a paper pay than our pennies do.

Papers must attract readers from all sections of the population if they want to maintain circulation. Sometimes they find that appeals to the emotions of their readers sell more papers than appeals to reason.

READER APPEAL

Newspapers entertain and educate at the same time. The news story is a highly important educational technique. It appeals to the imagination by putting facts in a dramatic and readable form. As a result everyone learns a little and some a great deal, from the news columns of the press.

**EDUCATIONAL
METHOD**

There is a great deal of entertainment—the comic strips are the main example. Even there we begin to find politics creeping in. Some comic strips inform as well as entertain. Some are used to put forward editorial opinion.

Expressions of Opinion

When it comes to the expression of opinions, either through editorials or by treatment of foreign and domestic news, there is the chance for a clash of interests between editorial and business office policy in a newspaper. The business administration will not support editorial policy likely to discourage circulation or antagonize advertisers. If a choice has to be made it will likely favour the advertisers, who are smaller in numbers but much more vocal.

**THE WHEEL
THAT SQUEAKS
LOUDEST**

Newspapers frequently publish advertisements on one page and on another give them an editorial blast that leaves no doubt about points of disagreement. Groups for whom the newspaper owners and editors have no use often get news space by the quantity and quality of their activities.

In very rare cases newspaper employees—Low, the British cartoonist, is a celebrated example—are allowed to oppose their employers openly.

**THE TEST
OF GENIUS**

Sometimes the employees write books as outlets for disagreements.

Wartime News

WARTIME
EXTRA

Newspapers haven't had many murders and bank hold-ups to take up their front pages during the war. They didn't have much paper for them anyway. The sensations have been battles—air, sea, and land. On the home front, big fires and explosions had increased meaning for all of us — they cut down production. Deaths of war leaders were national losses. United Nations misfortunes were our misfortunes.

FINANCIAL
'NEWS'

There was new headline material. Victory loans got front, middle, and back page space. Red Cross campaigns were front page news. The Community Chest financial case was more strongly presented than ever before. In place of 'scoops' and 'extras', (which were paper shortage casualties) the press has given us pre-views on major questions. It gave us background information before D-Day on problems of invasion. It provided us with information helpful to the understanding of air and sea warfare. It told us about war production problems and achievements. It explained requirements in agricultural products for home and abroad.

PREPARATORY
MATERIAL

INFORMATION
PLEASE

All of this had to be done with due regard for security. In peacetime, with no fear of "giving comfort to the enemy" we shall need background information on peace discussions, disposal of war criminals, rehabilitation, food and health prospects, employment, housing and the rest of the subjects we have been discussing.

Press Conferences

QUESTIONS
AND ANSWERS

Press Conferences are a means by which prominent individuals or organizations can make their positions clear to newspaper readers. To date this new technique has been employed chiefly by government officials in announcing policy. The late President Roosevelt used it with great effect—as he also used the radio and film. During the World Security Conference at San Francisco in the Spring of 1945, many different leaders presented the views of their governments to the world newspapers through press conferences at which sometimes 300-400 newsmen and women were present.

Where do we get our World News?

No newspaper can afford to maintain correspondents in all the large cities of the world. So groups of newspapers have joined their resources and established newsgathering agencies. Some of these are Reuters, United Press, British United Press, Associated Press, International News Service and the Canadian Press. The organizations usually identify themselves by initials on the datelines of the articles. In Canada the CP and BUP are most common. However they have access to other agencies' material and send it across the country by teletype.

GATHERING
WORLD NEWS

The Canadian Press is a co-operative news-gathering agency. Its expenses for offices, staff, correspondents, wire services and so on are divided amongst the Canadian dailies on basis of local population. Where two papers in one city both hold CP contracts, the cost is equally divided.

POOLING
EXPENSES

Bigger newspapers and chains of newspapers supplement these facilities with their own correspondents in such cities as London, Washington and Moscow. This enables them to write for a particular group of readers. Agencies provide news for universal consumption.

'OUR' OWN
CORRESPONDENTS

In any event, the 'selection' of material is done by local editors. Sometimes, between the agencies and the editors the emphasis that gets to us is uneven. We knew a good deal, for instance, about the German and Japanese armies before the war, but we had no idea that the Red Army could do what it did.

QUESTIONS

1. *What newspapers did you read in Canada? Who are their owners?*
2. *Did any of them profess to support any particular policy or party?*
3. *Should newspapers be free to print anything they like—whether or not it is true? If not, what sort of material should not be printed?*
4. *Do you read the editorial page of newspapers? Why?*
5. *How do you judge the reliability of stories in newspapers?*



INFORMATION SERVICES : RADIO AND FILMS

RECEIVING SETS

If bombers brought the war disastrously close to more civilians than ever before, radio made it very real to everyone. 1,700,000 radio receiving licenses were issued in 1943. That works out to one radio for every six adults in Canada.

WAR PROGRAMS

Radio played its part in almost every phase of war—recruiting, financing, reporting. It was used for the home front too—to explain ration details, price control reasons and methods, family allowances, etc.

There were eye-witness reports, short wave broadcasts and news from various parts of the world. There were feature and information broadcasts. There were opinion broadcasts, too.

RADIO SPEECHES

The radio war for men's minds proceeded. Both sides mounted an offensive. Hitler used the radio with sinister success. Prime Minister Churchill used it with great skill as a morale builder—particularly in the early days of the war. President Roosevelt continued his practice of fireside chats to the nation—even to the point of having his Declaration of War Speech to Congress carried by radio.

DISCUSSION PROGRAMS

Two general elections and several by-elections were fought in Canada during the war with radio speeches giving a lead to public discussions. Four national radio forums were started—Farm Radio Forum, Citizens' Forum, Labour Forum, and Servicemen's Forum. These experiments succeeded in reaching thousands of discussion groups across the country and many more individual listeners. In every case, several different points of view were presented on topics of national interest.

POLITICAL TALKS

Each of the national political parties was given free network time to present its point of view. Time was allotted on the basis of national strength, representa-

tion in Parliament, and number of candidates. No political party can buy time over the CBC network.

News analysis broadcasts were given by rosters of speakers with differing outlooks.

NEWS ANALYSIS

National Radio

This treatment of opinion by radio differs from newspaper treatment. National radio in Canada is compelled by law to be non-partisan — and at times has leaned over backwards in toning down discussion of controversial issues. The CBC is an independent corporation whose Board of Governors is named by the Government.

NON-PARTISAN

Local radio programs are largely handled by private stations which are governed by regulations made up by the Board of Governors.

LOCAL RADIO

The CBC is a program originating corporation. It has its own transmitting stations where there isn't adequate private station coverage. It also has short wave receiving and transmitting facilities. The receiving equipment has been put to good use during the war, for broadcasts of events in Britain and Europe. Many of these overseas broadcasts were arranged and handled by Overseas Units of the CBC.

RECEIVING
AND—

Recently the CBC has begun to prepare and transmit Canadian programs by short wave for European information and entertainment.

SENDING

Motion Pictures

In 1942, 183,735,258 people paid for seats in motion picture theatres in Canada. That represents a show every two weeks for every Canadian between 10 and 60.

POPULARITY

But films have been used for more than entertainment during war. All the services have used them for instruction and for general information. On some subjects we've found them much more useful than the written or spoken word.

USES

The film view of the war was brought to Canadians who haven't neighbourhood theatres through National Film Board circuits. Canadians saw a program a month of 'documentary' films showing scenes of campaigns in

TAKING
PICTURES TO
THE PEOPLE

North Africa, the U.S.S.R., China, South Pacific, and Europe. A war documentary is made in Bataan or Stalingrad, not in California.

**WAR EFFORT
IN PICTURES**

Alongside these went the film story of civilian warriors—in the munitions factories; in aircraft plants; on the farms; in the schools. Hundreds of these motion pictures telling the story of Canada's war effort were produced by an agency little older than the war itself. In addition to these 'free' showings, approximately 600 Canadian commercial theatres carry National Film Board productions.

STATISTICS

There were more than 69,000 non-commercial film showings (using Film Board films) in Canada between April 1944 and March 1945. The commercial theatre audiences in Canada for National Film Board productions during that year were estimated at 1,800,000 and the audiences in other countries — chiefly United States, Great Britain and South America—numbered about 30,000,000 people.

**WHAT IS AND
WHAT CAN BE**

Not all the films have dealt with the war. There have been films on housing, on employment, on nutrition, on education, recreation and scientific topics, on labour and agriculture.

Display service

**NOT ONLY
FILMS**

The Film Board has done other jobs. Displays showing service and civilian effort; posters on everything from recruiting to rehabilitation; and all kinds of illustrative material, including what's contained in these pamphlets.

**VISUAL
EXPERIENCE**

Just as postings from one part of Canada to another, and from one part of the world to another have shown service people what they mightn't otherwise have seen in a lifetime, so films have brought Canada and the world to those who couldn't travel. At the same time, Canadian films are showing Canadians and Canadian achievements to people all over the world.

Information Services

At the beginning of the war there were two information networks in Canada — the CBC and the

Canadian Press. The war has brought about several major changes. Communication of information has developed in several ways.

As we pointed out earlier, the CBC has co-operated with adult education organizations in sponsoring four national radio forums—Farm Radio Forum, Labour Forum, Citizens' Forum and Servicemen's Forum. These forums have reached hundreds of thousands of Canadian listeners—many of them meeting weekly in listening groups which supplemented the half-hour radio discussion programs with their own study and discussion.

The National Film Board's circuits have done a parallel job with documentary films which were distributed to rural groups, industrial and trade union groups and to other interested groups.

At the same time, the Wartime Information Board has made available to these agencies and to Service personnel, schools, official bodies and other countries the written account of Canada's activities and resources and, in particular, of Canada at war.

The co-ordination job for most of these projects has been done by such voluntary groups as the Canadian Association for Adult Education. These activities make it possible for every citizen to become familiar with the facts concerning Canadian affairs. They provide the equipment and stimulation for active citizenship.

The fact that they have developed rapidly during a war period is an indication of their peacetime possibilities.

These Information Services

Press, Radio and Films have several things in common. They are expensive to establish and operate. They have popular appeal. They handle the information which concerns all of us, and which must be available to as many as possible if democracy is to be made to work.

All may be non-partisan. All may be subjected to influences of emphasis, selection of material and slanting of information. The perils of war have taught us to

EXPENSE
POPULARITY
AVAILABILITY

WHO TOLD
YOU THAT?

be wary of what we don't know for sure. The same critical evaluation of information sources will be effective in peace.

With experience, even a source whose methods we distrust, can provide us with facts we can use. For that reason, we had staffs whose full time job was listening to Japanese broadcasts and passing on the relevant information to appropriate authorities.

Making our Opinion Count

Methods of making one's opinion known and effective have developed as rapidly as the techniques of war. Writing letters to the editor and to one's Member are not out of date. In fact, they are more in use than ever. Telegrams of protest or approval are standard methods. Petitions are still forwarded to Parliament. The face to face work of expressing opinions is done by delegations, equipped with research and legal support. Briefs are prepared and presented. The delegations take their cases to Committees of the House of Commons. They interview Cabinet Ministers. They talk to the Prime Minister. They are as thorough and persistent as a good political campaign manager.

Whom do they Represent?

Every type of group uses all the techniques for making its opinions count. Farmers go to the Minister of Agriculture; Labour takes its grievances to the Minister of Labour; War Veterans, to the Minister of Veterans Affairs; Bankers, to the Minister of Finance, and so on. Delegations on housing, radio, railways, air traffic and dozens of other matters go to the proper official just as we would go to the section commander for a pass or furlough.

Sometimes one delegation goes to more than one minister and frequently more than one delegation goes to the same minister. They may work through a member of the House or go directly to the Minister.

The point is that opinions that are soundly acquired are worth making known to the law-makers. An alert public encourages a sharp Parliament.

Education

The information services do one of two things. They either create or inform opinion. If we haven't opinions of our own, we take any one that is handy—in the press, over the air, or on the screen. If we have one of our own, we use the services to supply new angles, fresh facts and critical opinions.

**NEW AND
MORE SOLID
OPINIONS**

Informing Ourselves

A child born in 1900 could expect to live 45 years. Now a baby's expectation life has increased by 20 years. Those additional years can be used for growing old lazily or they may be used to continue personal growth.

20 MORE YEARS

Interrupted Training

For some of us the services have provided opportunities for new or continued training. For others it has been a three, four or five year interruption of plans and interference with training.

**BACK TO
LEARNING**

New Requirements

For all of us, situations are changing very rapidly. Jobs require more specialization and training than they used to. New skills are required, and even they may be out of date in a short time.

**HAVE YOU HAD
A COURSE?**

More Facts to Deal with

The factual information which people collected at school used to be sufficient for a lifetime; but even a compulsory high school course is insufficient now to equip us for life. In a changing world continuous learning is necessary.

**LIVING AND
LEARNING**

Improved Communication

Radio and air travel, telephone and news services have brought us so close together that we have a completely different world from the one which existed forty years ago. Premiers and Presidents can be in daily, hourly communication across thousands of miles.

**IT'S A SMALLER
WORLD**

These are a few arguments for life-long learning. We know now that there is no decrease in learning ability

**NEVER TOO
OLD TO LEARN**

beyond the teens. Our service courses have provided us with examples of older chaps holding their own with younger lads, despite long absence from school. We've seen people of all ages take on incredibly difficult courses and handle them in half the time normally required.

**THE BEST KIND
OF INSURANCE**

There will be chances for keeping up with events after the war. We'll be wise if we make some solid study compulsory for ourselves. Peacetime politics and economics are a lot more healthy and useful than the strategy and tactics of war. A well-informed public is better insurance against war than highly inflammable empty minds.

QUESTIONS

1. *What suggestions have you for enlivening the study projects necessary for keeping up with world, national, local and neighbourhood events?*
2. *How do you think Canada's radio-transmitting and film-making facilities should be used for informing the rest of the world about Canada?*
3. *What kind of radio and film programs from other countries would you like to hear and see after your return to Canada?*

THERE'S A CITIZEN'S JOB FOR EACH OF US TO DO



Our war effort, intelligently joined with the war efforts of all the United Nations, gives us good reason for pride. The total sum of the effort of small groups of people—in the battlelines, at the lathes and on the farms—is convincing evidence of our ability to do the things we want to.

**WARRANTED
SELF-CONFI-
DENCE**

It is clear that if our objectives are known and our efforts combined, we can tackle the problems of peace. Jobs, houses, schools, recreation, and social security take the place of recruiting and training for the Armed Forces, morale building, munitions manufacturing, food production and distribution. Our war experience will be a most useful aid in our determination to do what is necessary to hasten the solution of these problems.

**DON'T LET'S
FORGET**

It's Up to Us

To do nothing, to allow ourselves to drift, is the one attitude that won't get us what we want. The hurdles in our way have been analysed in other pamphlets of this series. The machinery for tackling them has been described in this group of talks. The place of the individual in the community on the job, in the province and in the nation, has been discussed. The forces which contribute to our opinions have been described and avenues for expressing opinions indicated.

PRELIMINARIES

This series is intended to help transfer our attention from the task of war to the job of peace: hence the title—LOOKING AHEAD.

There is obviously a limit to orientation by discussion. Discussing the situation we shall meet as we

LIMITATIONS OF DISCUSSION

become civilians once more doesn't solve everything. It doesn't do our studying for us if we decide to go back to study. It doesn't solve our job problem for us. That is not its purpose. Its purpose, among other things, is preparation.

Discussion is good preparation for participation. Action without discussion is often premature. Discussion without action is futile on matters which involve decisions and affect people.

ADDED RES- PONSIBILITY

Discussion, by itself, has values of many kinds. It can inform; it can entertain; it can sharpen wits and discipline speech. Discussion—of the kind we have been doing—is like basic training. For war, we have only to learn the techniques required in our job; the policies and decisions are made for us. For civilian life we must formulate *our own* policies and make our own decisions. These can be accomplished through reading, thinking and discussing. But we must be just as sure to distinguish between political *opinions* and political *action* as we were to distinguish between practice manoeuvres and front line action.

NOT THE REAL THING

The expression of opinions in a discussion group is like taking part in target practice—no one is going to get hurt and we can learn a lot about using our ammunition in the most effective way and about acting the right way at the right time. However, we are not winning the war while we are firing at practice targets. Nor are we achieving our objectives as long as we sit around discussing. More than talking is needed to realize our hopes and expectations.

Can we Adapt Ourselves to the Routine of Peace?

PRE-WAR

Our accomplishments in the past have been considerable. Yet, apart from the war periods, there has seldom been anything like a total effort. Our voting record has been imperfect. Our participation in political groups has never been even a majority participation. Our community efforts have been more as spectators than as active workers. Unemployment and ill health have weakened our morale and reduced our

effectiveness. We were divided in purpose and limited in vision.

The war has changed that to a situation where we have had a common purpose in which all could—and do—participate.

WAR

The objectives for the future are becoming clearer. The tools are available for us to use. Government by the PEOPLE, means opinions carefully arrived at and clarification of those opinions in discussions and debates. It means taking responsibility in job and in civic organizations in our neighbourhood and in political parties.

NEIGHBOUR-
HOOD
GOVERNMENT

Two-Way Responsibility

It means knowing our local, provincial and federal politicians of all parties. It means finding out what they think and how they act. It means checking their election speeches against their performances in the governing bodies. It means keeping in touch with them during the session and between sessions.

KNOWING OUR
REPRESENTA-
TIVES

At the same time that we are taking a responsible attitude toward our representatives in the decision-making bodies, we must not neglect the business of increasing our knowledge and strengthening our convictions by thorough and critical use of what information services we have available.

BEGINNING
WITH
OURSELVES

If this sounds overwhelming, we need only remind ourselves that the stakes are high and the rewards commensurate. Moreover we can look at the achievements of partial democracy and realize the possibilities of full participation. We know too that the things we want are wanted by most people—that the differences are chiefly in how we get them. These obstacles are overcome by seeing clearly the groups of people who are seriously striving for the common good, and associating ourselves with them. From that point on, the tasks of citizenship may be tough, but they will be worth doing.

WE ARE
NOT ALONE

DESIGNED BY THE NATIONAL FILM BOARD



OTTAWA : EDMOND CLOUTIER, PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY

PRINTED IN CANADA, 1945.